1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other things which have now taken their places among the neces-
437 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *mørth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

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In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412 415

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarnus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

The Tarvali

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *pah*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikarmokh*, is often 618 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mödr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mudadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülkadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

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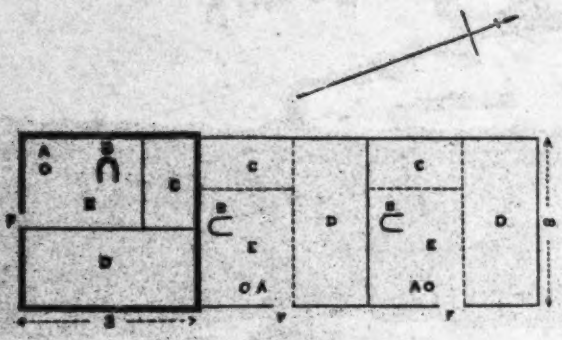

THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Thel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. VI.

originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm[illegible] Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

[illegible] [Letters did not reproduce here in the original text--Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the men, who hand them round to all impartially. The repast over, dancing is resumed by some, whilst the younger or more active proceed to collect the cow-buffaloes that will be wanted for the morrow, and to shut them up in the pound. Meanwhile, as might be anticipated, the daughters of Eve air their finery and keep their bright eyes and teeth in practice.

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The proceedings of the second day are very striking. Scene;—The circular pen, of about thirty feet diameter, with surrounding wall, of unusual strength and neatness, about five feet high and three and a half or four feet broad, on which a dense crowd of people—Todas, Kotas, Badagas, and others—are seated, each man with staff and toga. Sun hot. Smell strong. Buzz of many voices. Squeak of many instruments. A group of buffaloes within the pound, of which, one for each dead man, wears a bell—getti, not konku—scared and desperate from the excitement of the festivity, and the alarming presence of the noisy multitude on the wall, hedging them in on every side. They make frequent timorous dashes at the wall: are as often repulsed with shouts and stick gesticulations. They crowd again, tails together, horns outwards—a habit of defence they have acquired on their hill sides to keep off wild animals: then charge the wall again, and are again repulsed. These little feints and attitudes of defence, keep up the animation of the ring till the moment has come; when the remains of the dead, the insignificant manes—the bit of skull and lock of hair, some handfuls of ashes, a knuckle-bone or two—which have been preserved in a corner of the dwelling since the day of cremation, and now enclosed in the neat plaits of a new mantle, are laid at the gateway of the cattle pen: the ashes of the several dead whose obsequies are this day being observed, lying in the different folds of one single toga. The relatives collect around. No priest—pâlâl or kâvilâl—is present. A little hole is dug in the turf at the very opening of the pound; to which, as before described, each interested kinsman and woman, each adult and child, approaching

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[of the bare kêdu, or Second funeral--Analyse]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Awbo Toda Awbo

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
● 417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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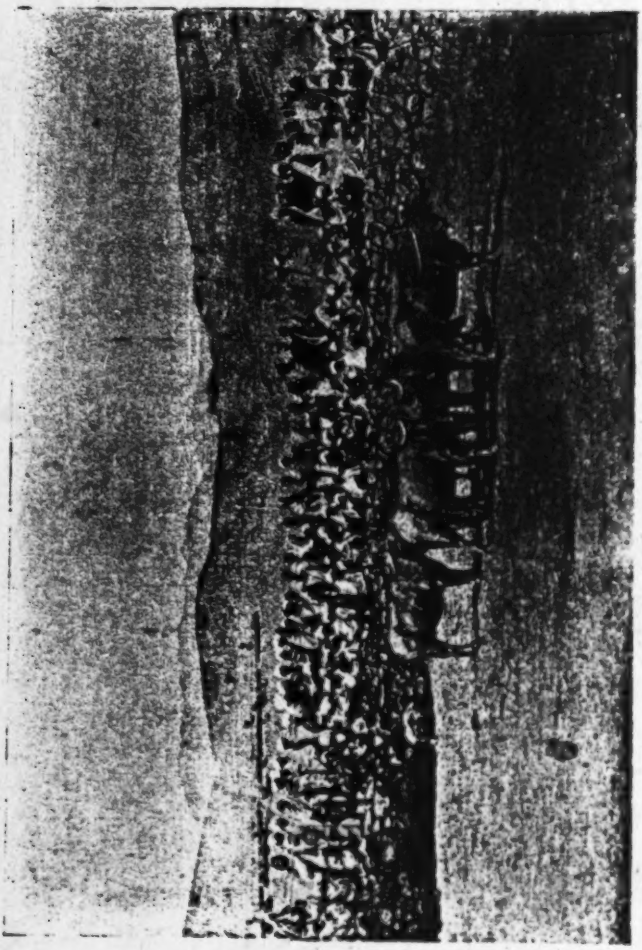

TODA BUFFALOES IN KRAAL

[facing p. 117]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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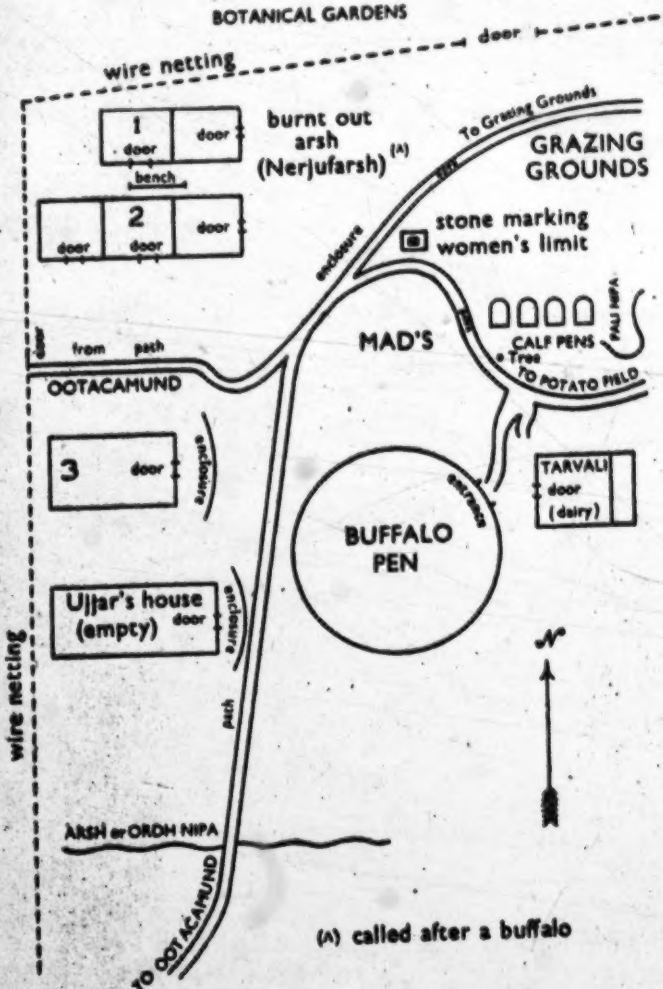

(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.